

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 712

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THREEPENCE

Military keep Garry Davis out of Germany

DAY-AND-NIGHT POLICE WATCH

STILL hoping to break into Germany, World Citizen Garry Davis has issued an appeal for support from his tent on the Kehl Bridge, Strasbourg, where the Rhine divides France from Germany.

Permission to enter has now been granted by the German authorities; it is the Allied High Command that is refusing him a permit.

About 200 sympathisers greeted his arrival at the Bridge on Dec. 20. President Wohleb of South Baden consented to admit him, but French police refused to let him across.

After four days and nights of exposure, Garry Davis became ill and was persuaded to enter hospital for a short time.

During his absence, volunteers manned the post, many of them students from Strasbourg University. A great reunion meeting was attended by over two thousand people.

At the other end of the bridge

Meanwhile, on the German side of the bridge, world-citizen Alexander Munzel, 23-year-old Stuttgart student, has taken up his watch.

Garry Davis has appealed for "reinforcements" of world-citizens to join him in his mission for a Franco-German rapprochement. At Kehl he plans to build the first "Cabane du Bonheur"—house of happiness—and to make this town the prototype world-city of the future.

He writes:

"As I have often been regarded as a Utopian, and as I dread, above all things, not to be able to share the common lot of mankind, I returned last November to the world of legal documents.

"The French authorities then handed over papers of American country of origin. While I was one man against others, I took every possible legal procedure to return to Germany to work for the reconstruction of what I helped to destroy as an airman.

Lawyers provide a new frontier

"But what happened? They made me a special legal case. Authorised to live in France, I was refused permission to return there if I left it. Then the authorities refused me leave to enter Germany.

"Then again: when I wanted to cross a real frontier to reach Kehl, I found before me a new frontier created especially for me, two kilometres in front.

"Finally, since I arrived in Strasbourg, I have been followed by the police night and day.

"I am convinced that it has not been a bad thing if, by these means, I have been able to demonstrate to what absurd and ridiculous lengths the strict respect for the world's frontier laws must lead."

Youth-hostellers kept vigil

An international gathering in London recently heard how French youth-hostellers, members of "La League," had helped Garry Davis in Paris last summer by maintaining a non-stop vigil outside the Cherche-Midi Prison, where CO J. B. Moreau was detained.

Arrests follow 'Refuse military service' call by Rabbi

JERUSALEM.

RABBI AMRAM BLAU, leader of the Watchmen of the City, a small group of ultra-orthodox Jews, has ordered his followers to refuse to do military service.

Rabbi Blau said he considered his group to be "citizens of the world" subject only to the United Nations, in accordance with the UN resolution on the internationalisation of Jerusalem.

He appealed to the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine for protection for his followers. Rabbi Blau and other members of his group were arrested last October for complicity in disturbances allegedly caused when the Watchmen tried to enforce rigid observance of the Jewish Sabbath.—RNS.

NO ARMY LECTURES

War Office representatives are not to be allowed to visit Isle of Ely schools to lecture on the advantage of the Army as a career, reports the Peterborough Standard (Feb. 10, 1950).

PACIFIST ISSUE AT ELECTION

Meetings provide opportunities for foundation of future peace campaigns

THERE is no doubt, writes Stuart Morris, that many people do appreciate the fact that the vital issue of foreign policy is being put by pacifist candidates, if not by those who represent the major parties, and the value of these meetings must not be judged only by the way in which they will affect votes at the moment. They are a valuable opportunity of showing an audience that pacifism provides the only and much needed alternative to the policies which now involve the use of the H-bomb.

During the past few days Stuart Morris has spoken at Llanelly on behalf of the Rev. Eirwyn Morgan, the Welsh Nationalist candidate and member of the PPU National Council, at Woolwich on behalf of Frank Hancock, and at Newcastle on behalf of Fred Barton—both of whom are members of the Peace Pledge Union.

At Llanelly, 750 people filled the Municipal Hall for what was a really inspiring meeting.

Some 300 attended the City Hall at Newcastle in spite of the bad weather which was probably one of the main reasons why the meeting at Woolwich Town Hall was poorly attended.

In every case the audience, large or small, listened attentively; there was no attempt at interruption, and all the questions were put constructively and sympathetically.

Spend the money on houses!

Complete opposition to the use of the H-bomb was pledged by Fred Barton, ILP candidate for Newcastle Central, at a meeting at the City Hall last week.

Without peace, he said, social security and the welfare state could be destroyed in a night. He expressed his complete opposition to conscription from every aspect, and said the fact that some of the money received from USA was spent on arms for the benefit of America only increased Russian suspicion.

Throughout his campaign, Fred Barton has insisted that the foreign policy which both Labour and Tory parties support was tied to the framework of capitalism, and in its five years of power Labour has failed to produce a Socialist foreign policy.

Nearly £800 million was spent annually on the Forces and, as Cripps informed us, every household in the country was contributing 22s. 6d. a week to arms expenditure. Some of this money should be spent on houses for the people.

Labour's conscription worse than any

Stuart Morris spoke on behalf of the No-Conscription Council. The Labour Party, he said, had imposed a form of conscription worse than any other country had ever done in peace-time: the calling-up of lads for service overseas. And he warned Socialists not to forget that troops could be used as blacklegs.

Nothing was ever politically right which was morally wrong, he said.

He commented on the similarity between the foreign policies of Eden and Bevin, adding that the latter could not get away from the idea that Soviet Russia was a break-away from Transport House.

The meeting was also addressed by Tom Colyer, ILP, who said the struggle for markets led to war whether under a Labour or a Tory government.

The capitalist economic system demanded competition and rivalry—every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost—and any government which administered that system was inevitably drawn into war.

Took principles seriously: gaoled

Dan Carradice, ILP candidate for Burnley, is putting the pacifist issue well in the forefront of his campaign.

Describing himself as a Libertarian Socialist and a Republican, he announces that he "spent three years in gaol because I had taken Christian, ethical and Socialist teaching seriously."

He repeats that the threat of a third world war is the greatest issue, not only for this election, but for the whole world.

That many countries should now, at a time of world-wide economic stress, be spending between a third and a half of their national incomes on preparing for war, is additionally futile, since any claim that war

can settle disputes is now rendered obsolete by science.

H-bomb and Lancashire

He rubs in the facts about the new weapons: The two A-bombs dropped in the last war killed 80,000 people and the area destroyed covered a radius of 2½ miles.

But the new H-bomb covers 50 square miles. One of them dropped in the centre of Burnley, he says, would destroy Burnley, Rawtenstall, Bacup, Todmorden, Grierfield, Nelson, Colne and Barrowford.

We are told, he says, that scientists are worried about making these things. We must encourage their misgivings and appeal to them to refuse to co-operate in the making of them, for any such courageous lead on the scientists' part would receive enthusiastic support from the peoples of the world.

Nothing else matters!

That the prevention of another war is the only issue that matters in this election, is the keynote of Frank Hancock's campaign at East Woolwich.

We expected a Labour Government to pursue a policy of neighbourliness, understanding and goodwill, he says, and it has tragically disappointed us.

He takes his stand on the principle once enunciated by Ernest Bevin (before he was Foreign Minister): "We want to teach our people that resistance to war is more glorious than to take part in it."

He reminds Labour voters that the Government, in introducing peace-time conscription, has forged a weapon which may be used in future by a reactionary Conservative government to beat the workers back to their pre-war poverty.

"Don't grumble any more," he says, "about shortages, overcrowding in old houses, controls, exorbitant prices, high taxation. That is the price we always have to pay for war!"

Newcastle and Woolwich need more helpers

Fred Barton, Newcastle's PPU-ILP candidate urgently needs more helpers to make sure of a complete canvass—volunteers should report at one of the 3 committee rooms, any evening from 7 p.m. (Monday to Friday), and from 5 p.m. on Saturday:

ILP Main Committee Rooms, 195 Scotswood Road, Newcastle, 4;

Common Wealth Bookshop, 54 Blakett Street, Newcastle, 1;

ILP Hall, 157 (Back) Shields Road, Byker, Newcastle, 6.

Telephone enquiries: Newcastle 55336.

Poster parade at Woolwich

A poster parade will leave Frank Hancock's Committee Rooms at 19 Anglesea Road, Woolwich, tomorrow, Saturday, at 3 p.m. Volunteers to carry posters and distribute leaflets are required.

N.S. REGISTRATION DAY POSTER PARADE

AN anti-conscription poster parade on the next National Service Registration Day (Sat., March 4) is being organised by the Islington Peace Group.

The parade will start from Rock Street, Finsbury Park (almost opposite Peace News office) at 3 p.m. Volunteers to carry posters or distribute leaflets are invited to send their names to the organiser, Tristan Nelson, 58, Carleton Road, N.7.

BACK FROM INDIA

THE last of the delegates to return from the World Pacifist Conference in India were welcomed in London last Monday.

They were: Vera Brittain, Mildred Fahrni (Canada), Aage Jorgensen (Denmark), Reg Reynolds, Igal Roodenko (USA), Henri Roser (France) and Michael Scott. A report of their impressions will be published next week.

EINSTEIN ON H-BOMB

'Solemn renunciation of force necessary'

APPEARING last Sunday in the first of a series of television programmes conducted by Mrs. Roosevelt, Prof. Einstein told America that security through arms was a "disastrous illusion."

Radio-active poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence annihilation of any life on earth, was now a technical possibility.

The sinister aspect of this development lay in its apparently compulsory trend. Every step appeared as an unavoidable consequence of the preceding one, and pointed only to more and more annihilation.

Militarist's increasing power

This "mechanistic technical - military psychological attitude" had inevitable consequences. Every single act in foreign policy was governed exclusively by one view and led to serious deterioration of social life, exemplified by the intimidation of people of independent thinking, the indoctrination of the public by radio, press and school, and the growing restriction of the range of public information under pressure of military secrecy.

It was impossible to achieve peace while every single action was taken with a possible future conflict in view. The first problem was to abolish mutual fear and distrust, and to this end a solemn renunciation of violence was necessary.

Conscription conditions youth to evil

CHURCHMEN CONDEMN NATIONAL SERVICE

THAT no Christian Minister who was prepared to advocate the use of the H-bomb had a right to mount the pulpit steps, was the opinion expressed by Dr. Donald Soper at a "Churches Challenge Conscription" meeting in London last week.

"What is more totalitarian than conscription?" he asked. People were continually reminded of lost liberties in other countries, yet rarely was conscription in Britain condemned.

The need of the moment, he believed, was for pacifists to communicate their faith in pacifism, not merely its arguments.

"Outside this hall," he said, "there is an uneasy indifference not hostility." Men were opposed to war but could not see their way out of it.

He concluded with a pledge that henceforth he would devote himself more to work against militarism as an important part of his corporate life.

Lyn Harris, headmaster of St. Christopher's School, Letchworth, was applauded when he thought it more practical to accept domination and slavery than attempt to annihilate our enemies by means now being devised, because, as history repeatedly showed, the oppressed could teach the oppressors.

By conscripting youth we were virtually saying, "You are not free to follow God," and conditioning them to evil.

If my dead sons could be here...

Rev. Mercer-Wilson, of St. George the Martyr C of E, said he had only lately become convinced of the truth of pacifism and was now endeavouring to get free from the prejudices of his early training in a military family.

He had lost two sons in the war and believed that if they could speak to him now they would say they had taken the wrong path.

Rev. Claud Coltman, of Weigh-House Church, said Nonconformists who supported conscription had departed from all that the Free Churches stood for.

"We never have a Church Conference that does not announce that war is contrary to the mind of Christ," he said. "That being so, surely the Church should protest against our lads being trained in this way."

Rev. James Fraser, former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of England, was in the chair. An appeal for support for the work of the No Conscription Council was made by Roger Page, who was giving up the Secretaryship on his departure for an Australian tour.

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TOLERANCE

WE would like to endorse the plea for tolerant international understanding which Roy Sherwood makes in the adjacent columns.

It is not without reason that supporters of the Liberal Party claim that this is fundamentally a Liberal country—a claim in nowise weakened by Mr. Churchill's claim that the British people are Conservative at heart.

For the struggle to realise in social life the toleration of differences in outlook and belief and to enable men to live side by side with their fundamental differences of opinion, has distinguished this country's history far more than any other factor.

It should therefore come easily to a liberal-minded people to insist upon the need for an unprecedented effort towards the understanding of what we may call "national" viewpoints.

While national sovereignty exists, the national and the individual viewpoints on public affairs are bound to be to a great extent merged. Only a minority are free from the bias of environment.

Within each nation, and particularly in these days of radio and huge newspaper circulations, vast numbers of people passively accept judgments which, if free of this form of mass education, they might not hold at all. And in no way has this a more serious effect than on the opinions which the people of one nation hold of the people of another.

If a newspaper told you what kind of man your next-door neighbour was, you could easily test it. But when a newspaper tells you that the Russians are . . . the Russians want . . . The Russians will . . . etc., etc., it is so difficult to question it that many people take the line of least resistance and accept it.

It has not always mattered very much what nations think of each other. Today it matters terribly. For we are living in the most warlike period in history.

No rational man, no man with any sense of moral responsibility, would attempt to judge the opinions or behaviour of another without attempting to put himself in the other's place and view the situation in the light of what he knows of the other man's experience.

Modern psychology, the humane and analytical methods which are being introduced into education and mental therapy, are making this approach to sympathetic understanding rapidly familiar to a section of the public well beyond the sphere of "experts." But they have, as yet, no acknowledgement in the realm of international politics. Nationally speaking, we still judge other nations as if their collective experience and their whole history were identical with our own.

We judge Russia as if it had had three centuries' incessant struggle towards political democracy; we judge USA as if it had been a going concern long before William the Conqueror landed on Long Island in 1066.

The encouragement of this tolerance and its extension from domestic to international politics is a primary duty, not only of pacifists, but of all liberal-minded people; and it offers a form of intervention in world affairs for which this country is fitted by experience and tradition.

The latest books, pamphlets and periodicals (whether or not reviewed in Peace News) are always available from the pacifist Booksellers

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

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Do the Americans justice

A Commentary by ROY SHERWOOD

WHAT hope there is of bringing America and Russia to mutual understanding depends so greatly and so obviously on our own mediating abilities that there is no vestige of excuse for us if we remain ignorant or forgetful of any factors of importance in determining their respective attitudes.

I cannot deal with both sides within the space limits of a 1,000-word commentary, and I have more than once endeavoured to do justice to the Soviet viewpoint. Let us therefore, try this week to dig out some of the facts which make the Americans more self-righteous, and even more suspicious of Russia than most Europeans, in their reactions to the spectre of a third world war.

Most of us take it for granted that there is no essential difference between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon world except that we are more concerned about welfare legislation, politically and diplomatically ahead of Washington, and therefore more flexible in international affairs. We think, in fact, that the difference is mainly one of degree, with the advantage on our side except for sheer power, and that it is a pity that the Americans cannot make haste to catch up with us. And there are even millions among us who are satisfied with the meanly suspicious belief that the American attitude towards atomic warfare is due simply to their greater distance from the places where the Russians are likely to be able to make such warfare fully effective. I have known pacifists to share that uncharitable belief.

The effect of Pearl Harbour

LET us dispose of this point first, because it is the most elemental.

We came into the last war as a result of a guarantee, voluntarily given five or six months earlier to the Poles, after we had decided that further bargaining with Hitler would be useless. But we had done some pretty shady bargaining, and we had thrown the guarantee at the Poles in deliberate challenge to Hitler.

Not President Roosevelt himself, but the American people as a whole were flung into that war by the attack on Pearl Harbour, made by another authoritarian regime—as authoritarian as Hitler's and the Soviets'.

It is not surprising therefore, that there should be a fundamental difference between the two people's attitude to the possibility of an altogether unexpected attack by authoritarians. An event for which President Roosevelt may have been prepared

came as an utter shock to the American people.

Substitute Russia for Japan, and New York for Pearl Harbour, and it becomes easy enough to understand what we over here sometimes call America's war hysteria.

Remember USA and Versailles

AS for American self-righteousness, it behoves us to remember that the United States did not take part in the Versailles Treaty. They went so far as to disavow their own President.

Now, after the second world war, it is again becoming fashionable to speak of that treaty as if it had been a reasonable settlement; and some Germans, who recently said what they thought of it, have been severely called to order. But in the 1930's, when minds were comparatively cool, it was universally admitted that the Versailles Treaty was both stupid and unjust. If America is encouraged by her non-ratification of modern history's most vindictive treaty towards a subconscious self-righteousness, she is merely showing that she is human. There is not a nation that has not done as much and more, on slenderer grounds.

Here, incidentally, before passing on to more specifically political facts, it seems advisable to recall something else: If the Pearl Harbour attack, made while a Japanese Envoy was actually negotiating in Washington, had not been so terrible an outrage against human decency, the first atomic bomb might not have been dropped on Japan without warning. Human reactions are not altogether incalculable. They are only disappointingly primitive and crude.

The significance of Marshall Aid

EVEN if we take the view that Marshall Aid is largely inspired by self-interest, it still stands out as the most enlightened expression of such interest that the world has ever seen.

We in this country shall not know until after the General Election whether we really mean to be a welfare state (and mean to make the considerable sacrifices this will involve), or whether the advent of the Labour Government in 1945 was a mere excursion into political adventure, in obedience to dissatisfaction with the existing state of things.

Certain it is, that our conditions were such as to clamour for a change with an insistence of which America, up to this day, has as yet no experience. But she is not to be blamed—only to be congratulated—for that. America, sceptical on the subject of our economic ideas of the last five years, "has no feeling" for them but accepts

them in deference to our common conception of democratic liberty.

Different experience, different values

WE, having forgotten centuries ago the conditions which produced the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, "have no feeling" for a purely economic conception of democracy, denying all political rights. The Americans, needless to say, are even further removed from it, since it makes no appeal to them even economically. And the Russians simply do not miss political liberty because they have never had it.

It would take a process even lengthier than the one the occupation authorities find so awkward in Germany, to induce the Russians to develop any taste for it. But they can see where their economic system is better than ours. With both sides convinced that they have something the other side lacks but needs for complete happiness, charges of imperialism are merely silly.

So each pities the other!

WHILE the leaders of both sides fight in every meeting between them, the masses of both sides pity each other for (the other side's) non-possession of something valued by the pity-er and disregarded or ignored by the pity-ed.

Such a state of affairs is crazy enough to throw an altogether new light on the question of political wisdom. If it is true that we possess more of this than anybody else—as it is undoubtedly true that we shall be the most annihilated sufferers in atomic warfare—it would seem to be our duty to the whole world to persevere until we find ways and means of getting the Americans and the Russians to accept the principle that mutual accommodation is better than reciprocal destruction.

The Quaker Peace Testimony

War . . . is the most opposite to your profession, and therefore you should use your interest against it as your greatest enemy.

How shall the rays of Christianity influence Turks and Infidels when they shall see, that under the pretence of that religion, its professors shall have the hottest animosities and hatred?

—John Bellers (1654-1725).

The above is an extract from "The Quaker Peace Testimony," an anthology compiled by Jos. S. Rowntree and Helen Byles Ford and published by the Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

ATOM SNOOPERS WONT BRING PEACE

By DOUGLAS ROGERS

RECENT publicity about the "H-bomb" and whether or not the United States should go ahead on its production has let loose another spate of philosophising about atom bombs in general.

The "H-bomb" is reported to be principally upon the splitting of the hydrogen atom, possibly using an "ordinary" (now) split uranium atom to start the process, and to reproduce, the process that goes on in the sun by or with a momentary production of heat equivalent to that at the sun's centre. The "H-bomb" is variously reported as having a destructive power up to 1,000 times that of an ordinary atom bomb, the sort that blasted Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A group of hopeful American physicists has issued an appeal that, whilst the United States should defensively produce the bomb, it should pledge itself not to use it unless it or one of its allies is first attacked with it.

Good luck to the American physicists! After the first atom bomb was used on a Japanese city, every publicist, even the most reactionary newspaper leader-writers, wrote solemnly about the means for self-destruction man now had in his hands. For a week or so the whole world nearly became pacifist and humanitarianism was the latest seven-day wonder.

However, the strain of this soon proved too much, the fuss died down and the atom-bomb became scarcely relevant as far as international politics were concerned. This isn't an exaggeration; the tone of international relations hasn't altered one whit because of the atom-bomb. Neither will it because of the H-bomb.

NOTHING is more futile to my mind than this practically universal insistence that international control of atomic energy and the outlawing of the atom-bomb (and the H-bomb now) is the key to mankind's survival. I suggest that it is diverting attention from the real key issue which is the outlawing of war itself.

Personally, I don't think it is inevitable that, even if there is a third world war, atom bombs will be used. I don't say that they won't. But it is surely a first military principle that whilst you must make your war as destructive as possible, you mustn't

let the destructiveness get out of control and rebound to the prejudice of your war purpose. A militarist, before he decides a policy, must weigh up the possible advantages against the possible disadvantages, and, if in a future war, both sides are equally possessed of atomic weapons, it is quite likely that neither side will be prepared to initiate their use.

Even in the last war, when the Germans were fighting a last ditch battle and bringing their cities crashing around them, they didn't risk using poison-gas or bacteriological weapons. I believe they could have had these weapons ready if they had wanted them.

However, I am not advancing this as an optimistic argument because there are explosive weapons enough without atom-bombs. And I am sure that a third world war, with or without atomic weapons, will be a catastrophe, causing such material and spiritual destruction as to destroy the last vestiges of any sort of society worth living in.

That is why I believe that the present obsession about atomic control is based on a fallacy. Attempts to reach agreement on this issue have failed consistently and, whilst I don't want to preach pessimism, I believe they will go on failing. Of course, we all know about Russian resistance to having atomic inspectors rummaging about their fields and factories for secreted atomic weapons. I don't know whether this is a relevant objection or not.

WHAT seems perfectly fantastic to me is the notion that you can have international control of atomic weapons whilst simultaneously letting rip with all the other means of war—manufacturing ad lib. all other types of weapons, basing international affairs on nationalistic concepts, pursuing economic methods that encourage the causes of war, childishly dogmatising about one "ideology" as against another . . .

After all, however many inspectors are enrolled in the international service for atomic control, the outlawing of the bomb must be based ultimately upon trust. No one suggests outlawing the production of atomic energy and destroying all atomic piles, blueprints and scientists who know how to produce them or are likely to know. And no one surely believes that the inter-

national atomic inspectorate could continue to function across the frontiers once war had been declared.

Hence, when war had started the inspectorate would be thrown overboard and each side would automatically begin production of atomic weapons as fast as possible.

I don't mind "atomic control" being kept on the international agenda as a general idea, but I refuse to believe in it. I see no evidence of the international trust necessary to outlaw the bomb and, in any case, if that trust existed the problem of the atom-bomb wouldn't.

IN truth we are where we always were. War itself is the enemy, the enemy not only of all human progress, but of human survival. And the less time wasted on diversionary details the better.

The way to stop it is not to cry for international snoopers for atom-bombs, but to get down to the job of declaring outright for peace and to start building for peace: the psychology of peace, the economic and social conditions of peace. And Britain, which with the rest of Europe is bound to lose the day if war comes again, can lose nothing now by making the big generous gestures in its foreign policy that would lead to real international reconciliation.

NOT ENOUGH

WE ought to be able to say that £27 in a fortnight is a fine response to the Forward Fund, but if the paper is to be enlarged to 8-pages we shall need £40 fortnightly until the circulation rises.

Some promises of gifts to the Fund in the event of the size being increased on April 1 have come in, but here too is a need for more.

The producing of a newspaper in 1950 calls for a large weekly income from sales and advertisements, if either of these sources are insufficient then another must be found. We turn to the Forward Fund when we plan for the future.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Jan. 27: £27 2s. 11d.

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NATION-WIDE H-BOMB PROTESTS

'Break the vicious circle of fear'

—ARCHDEACON HARTILL

PN Correspondent

A CALL for a constructive lead to break the present vicious circle of increasing fear on both sides of the "Iron Curtain" was made by the Ven. Percy Hartill, Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent, speaking at a meeting arranged by Nottingham Peace Group at the Friends Meeting House, Nottingham, last week.

Archdeacon Hartill said that the USSR had suffered more material ravages during the war than any other country in Europe, particularly in the Ukraine, where the "scorched earth" policy had left millions homeless and devastated the whole land.

Help rebuild Russia

He added: "Supposing that instead of spending what we are spending on armaments, we offered to spend half that sum on rebuilding ravaged cities in Russia—don't you think there would be a change in the attitude of Russia towards us? If we could be doing something constructive like that, really helping re-build instead of the armaments race—well, I venture to think that even the hearts of the Russian people might be changed—even the hearts of their rulers."

The Archdeacon declared that the dropping of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and President Truman's decision to go ahead with the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb had finally and definitely undermined every conceivable justification for war, whether political, moral or religious.

People thought that "civilisation" had been saved in 1945, but today any kind of idea that war was a means of saving civilisation must be abandoned by every rational person.

About 60 people attended the meeting, over which the Rev. Reginald Baker presided. The many questions asked showed how keen an interest had been aroused by the speaker's challenging address.

Last opportunity?

At another Nottingham meeting a warning of the new peril to civilisation caused by President Truman's decision to go ahead with manufacture of the hydrogen bomb was given by Mr. John Hoyland.

Speaking at Friends Meeting House, Mansfield, last week, he said: "Now is the moment—perhaps the last moment of opportunity—in which the goodwill of the world, acting and speaking through its statesmen, must be mobilised to create an atomic control authority that will enable this vast danger to pass away from the future of our race."

Describing the Times and the Economist as "the two most level-headed and reliable newspapers in our country," Mr. Hoyland said that both had stated if the H-bomb was made, and went on being made, it would be used.

"That may mean that our whole world is turned into one flaming mass of violently exploded gas, so that all life will be extinct upon it. That is the issue involved," said the speaker.

THE NEW CULTURE

The British Council has to vacate a block of offices in the West End to make room for an American Military Mission.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, February 16, 1940

Tomorrow, in many parts of the country, by marching and open-air meetings, women will demonstrate their determination that this war shall not continue. Before millions of young men have been slaughtered, before millions of homes have been destroyed, before the lying propaganda of hatred has reached its zenith, before the revenged spirit of reprisals has dulled every spark of humanity, and the final degradation of man has set in, we will demand with all the power and energy we possess that this senseless war shall cease... every day that war continues the chances of a real peace become more remote.

—Mary Gamble, Chairman, Women's Peace Campaign.

In three bye-elections, "Stop-the-War" candidates have polled 8,553 votes out of a total of 54,273.

A woman picket carried a sign "Does England Love Democracy? Free India" when Lord Lethbridge, British Ambassador to the USA, spoke at the English-Speaking Union in Chicago last month.

IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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BRITAIN'S SUPREME OPPORTUNITY

'Must serve as peacemaker' says Fenner Brockway

WHO wins the Slough election seems to me a small thing in face of the H-bomb," says Fenner Brockway, Labour candidate, in a statement to the Slough Observer.

Making an appeal "above party divisions," Fenner Brockway continued:

"We MUST find a basis of agreement between America and Russia about this new scientific warfare.

"Those of us who believe in Liberty dislike Russian totalitarianism. Those of us who believe also in Socialism dislike American capitalism. But one elementary need rises above these differences. It has now become a matter of the preservation of the human race itself.

"Britain has a supreme opportunity to build a bridge between America and Russia. I want to see our country serve humanity in this way.

"America is considering talks with Russia. If America takes the initiative, Britain must serve as peace-maker. If America hesitates, Britain must take the initiative herself."

Statements from the Communist, Conservative, and Liberal candidates were also published, none of them mentioned foreign policy.

Overshadows the Election—ILP

BY their successful policy of rearmament, and by making this country into a base for the USA, the Labour Party is leading Britain into a third world war, says a statement on the H-Bomb by the N-E Divisional Council of the ILP.

"We are becoming an occupied country, under the orders of the United States military chiefs, and the Tories applaud this policy," the statement continues:

"An atomic war would be hell on earth, and this little Island would be a sitting target, right in the firing line between America and Russia, if we were stupid enough to take part. The ILP stands for Neutrality.

"An immediate declaration of neutrality offers the only hope of saving Britain from being wiped out if war occurs."

World Govt. Questionnaire for Midland Candidates

THE following questions have been sent out to all candidates in the six counties of Warwick, Stafford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham and Northampton by the West Midlands Region of the Crusade for World Government:

1. Do you believe that the first concern of all Governments should be the maintenance of World Peace?
2. Do you believe that the establishment of World Peace is not possible whilst all the nations of the world retain full sovereignty?
3. Do you agree that, in the absence of enforceable World Law administered by a World Federal Government and applicable to individuals as well as nations, World Peace cannot be assured, and that the establishment of a World Federal Government is of primary importance?
4. If returned to Parliament will you support by every means the proposals of the Crusade for World Government as set out in the enclosed "Plan in Outline"?

NEWS IN BRIEF

LIVERPOOL: Sybil Morrison met PPU members at a tea-time gathering before the No Conscription Meeting on Thursday, Feb. 9. About 25 members were present and there was a good tea and lively discussion on PPU activities and campaigning. Sybil Morrison said how pleased she was to meet with so many staunch pacifists, unshaken in their faith and full of vigour and energy in their pacifist work.

NEWCASTLE: About 70 people heard Fred Barton, Newcastle-on-Tyne ILP candidate, and Sybil Morrison, Campaign Organisation, state the case against conscription. The audience were mostly already "converted" but there were interesting questions and important and necessary discussions on action. Llewellyn Lloyd, the secretary, told of his campaign against compulsory "cadet" service in the schools, and there were many offers to assist him.

LEEDS: The Peace Council is to hold a social on March 10 at Carlton Hill in order to raise funds for public activities. Promises of support for this effort or contributions should be sent to Kenneth Chadwick, 32 Spencer-place, Leeds, 7.

S. AYSHIRE: Sybil Morrison addressed three meetings with Emrys Hughes last Friday night in mining villages in his constituency. Stuart Morris will be speaking towards the close of the campaign.

Behind the News...

BEHIND the headlines of what has been described as the "irrelevant" Election, the real problems of mankind pile up unobserved and unrecorded.

While soap-box orators blow bubbles of hot air, the fundamentals of food, work and family receive only perfunctory attention.

It is not always remembered, in the mists of ideology, that Asia is suffering from chronic starvation. Of China and Russia, the Chicago Daily News observes: "We cannot even assume that the national leaders... are immune and capable of normal reasoning. They are subject to the effects of the surging of their own masses and limited by the fears and forebodings of the physically starved populations."

The only answer to India's problems, it has been said, is de-population; the only answer, that is, under the present system of trading and money-values. An alternative—Harijan—would be a simpler standard of living, commensurate with the country's resources. And this, it is suggested, is the real issue between Russia and the West. The USSR has refused to follow Western standards, and thereby constitutes a "menace" to our civilisation.

Work and Want

A GREATER menace, perhaps, lies in the idiocy of working primarily for money.

Gandhi's concept of work is described thus by J. C. Kumarappa: "Work was respected according to the worker's character and personality. Scavenging could be the noblest of professions and the pursuit of law the meanest of criminal ventures according to the motives of the actors."

"This code conferred dignity on man himself, apart from his environment, birth or material circumstances. So that even the poorest in the land can enjoy a status equal to that of the highest, provided the needed character and personality were present."

The American "Interpreter," advocate of decentralisation, deplores our continued faith in legislation, politics and officials to solve these problems. It recommends return to a "family culture," with production only for the family needs—"Don't live principally to feed city families. Persuade the majority of urban families to come out to the country and do likewise."

Dusty Answer

TO these crying needs, official representatives of the richest nation on earth have only one answer—arms, and still more arms.

Reading the astronomic figures of US arms expenditure, it is difficult not to fall into paranoia and see everything as a sinister conspiracy. But if the hydrogen bomb is a delusion, it is uncomfortably real. It is certainly the offspring of a delusion: the myth of the infallibility of big business.

Warning Whistle

AS America makes the bombs, so Britain makes the ready to receive them.

But business here is reported slow. Only a few volunteers have come forward for CD training in Islington and St. Pancras, reports the North London Press. Sole dissident voice on the Civil Defence Sub-Committee was that of Labour Councillor Bucknell. "I feel it is absolutely impossible to separate civil defence measures from the whole war machine—from the offensive preparations now being made," he said. "I don't believe in violence, I believe it is a complete negation of Christianity."

This view is endorsed in the Croydon Labour News, which reproduces, as "a horrible reminder of horrible days," the PN photograph of Dresden raid victims—unidentified bodies piled high on girders in the main street to be publicly cremated. Three hundred thousand died in that raid.

An atomic war, it is pointed out, will not be relieved by "a little man with a whistle, however courageous."

Off-white Africa

IT is not inconceivable that food is at the back of the racial policy of Dr. Malan.

Whatever the cause, disquieting facts about the state of the South African Union under apartheid are

disclosed by Dr. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, writing in "Indian Opinion."

He records a steady deterioration in the situation of the African, who has suffered over the last eighteen months the following losses:

1. The abolition or reduction of the African children's feeding scheme, while doubling that for Europeans.
2. Reduction of funds for rehabilitation in the reserves.
3. Repulsion of thousands of Africans from towns to rural or mining centres.
4. Retrenchment of Africans in semi-skilled or skilled civil service posts.
5. Reductions of old-age pensions and other benefits, while increasing these for Europeans.
6. Reduction of housing funds and denying African workers' participation in State building contracts.
7. Threat of deprivation of all vestiges of political rights.

Dr. Xuma deplores the European attitude of duping the "innocent and unsuspecting African" with specious benefits under apartheid. The majority of Africans, however, were uncompromisingly opposed to the policy. But they were too easily cowed by brutality, and too ready to sit back and wait for outside help.

It is emphasised that the National Congress, although it has always stood for the building of a free African nation, is not opposing Europeans as such. "We are not fighting any particular party or Government. What we are fighting is the wicked policy of racial discrimination and colour domination. We reject the theory of white supremacy since, in practice, it is synonymous with oppression of non-whites by whites."

Boomerang

FURTHER to the north, white supremacy is hardly more happy in the role of trustee of subject peoples. All is not well in the disputed lands of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

The International Ethiopian Council (Chairman: Peter Freeman, MP; Hon. Sec: E. Sylvia Pankhurst) reports that a militant youth organisation "Andinet," is pressing Eritrean claims for re-union with Ethiopia.

Domination by Italy is feared, but it is disturbing to learn that meanwhile British trusteeship includes operations by jet-bombing planes. This action has had the effect of making the young militants into national heroes, particularly so as during the war British propagandists promised reunion with Ethiopia in return for service.

But the terms of that appeal, issued now by "New Times and Ethiopia News," were hardly a favourable augury: "This is the honourable life for the Eritrean: to have the guts to call his people a Nation; to cease to be the slave of the Italian; to command battalions; to drive tanks; to pilot aircraft..." The disadvantages in dealing with simple peoples is that they are prone to take things literally.

Pennies for Peace

ON the other side of the coin is the simple humanity of the school-children of France who donated one franc each last summer towards a holiday camp for war orphans, bringing together fifty children from sixteen countries. Worldover Press reports that it is hoped to provide an even larger camp this year.

Credit Account

ALSO on the credit side is the International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) allocation of a total of 2,382,000 dollars for Child-aid relief programmes for Palestine refugees outside Israel; for Jewish and Arab children in Israel; and for Finland and Afghanistan. A contribution also goes towards the cost of a Congress of Pediatricians in Zurich in July, 1950.

A further million and a quarter dollars will finance large-scale assistance to improve health and nutrition of Latin-American children.

MARGARET TIMS

BRITAIN'S FIRST COs

How the fight against conscription began

Conscription and Conscience, by J. W. Graham. Allen and Unwin, 1922.

THIS is a detailed account of what happened to Conscientious Objectors in the 1914-18 war.

There were, in round figures, 16,000 of them who registered between Jan., 1916, when the Military Service Act was passed, and Nov., 1918, when the war came to an end. Out of this total some 10,000 accepted non-combatant work in the forces, joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit, or undertook work assigned to them as being of national importance. The remaining 6,000 refused to accept anything except unconditional exemption, were arrested, tried and sentenced.

It is difficult for those who did not live through that time to realize the depth and extent of the hostility aroused by the COs. The idea that it really was a matter of conscience with them was rejected out of hand and they were universally branded as cowards and skrimshankers.

Although the Act contained a provision for unconditional exemption, the Tribunals openly disregarded it and granted exemption only on condition of undertaking non-combatant duties in the Forces.

The first tribunals

The members of the Tribunals were for the most part elderly local magnates and tradesmen known to be in favour of war, and in any case they were completely under the domination of the military. Two representatives of the War Office attended all the sessions and even accompanied the members when—which was seldom—they retired to consider their verdict.

As a rule it was sufficient for the military to say "We want these men" for objection to be summarily rejected.

There was no attempt at observing proper rules of procedure; deliberate misstatements of the law were frequent and the objectors were openly brow-beaten. Every attempt was made to break the spirit of the objectors and the brutality with which they were treated by the army authorities was such that the Government had to take their treatment out of the hands of the military and transfer them for punishment to ordinary civil prisons.

But even there they received such harsh treatment that 71 died as the direct result of it. The infamous Cat and Mouse procedure was adopted and some were constantly in and out of prison for three and a half years; for punishment went on even after the war ended, and the last CO was not released until July, 1919.

In 1917 the Government devised a scheme of work in camps as an alternative to prison and some three fourths of those who had been sentenced accepted this. But conditions in the camps were very bad and the work imposed was hard physical toil at jobs which were entirely useless.

Uncompromising opposition

Various organisations existed for the defence of conscience but the largest, most comprehensive, and most efficient of them all was the No-Conscription Fellowship. It had no religious or political basis but was composed of those who were willing to express in action their uncompromising hostility to conscription. In practice the most active members were Socialists and Quakers.

It is impossible to over-estimate the services rendered by the Fellowship. It bound

together thousands of young men, most of them isolated and inarticulate, whose sufferings would have been intolerable had they been left to fight alone. It carried on a continuous battle of wits against civil and military establishments in which it was generally successful, and it broke down traditions in Army and prisons until those in authority were completely baffled.

In spite of every attempt by the police to prevent it, 100,000 copies of the journal "Tribunal" were sent out monthly. Pamphlets and leaflets were issued in a constant stream which had the effect of stirring up a mass of intellectual opinion in favour of the COs and even the Trade Unions were roused to protest.

The stand made at that time, in fact, was a noble effort of citizenship the object of which was to defeat an evil system which denied the fundamental rights of the indi-

FOR THE UNDER TWENTIES

"Conscription and Conscience" has long been out of print but copies may be borrowed from the libraries at Dick Sheppard House and Friends House, London.

By Dr. A. K. Jameson

vidual. In this respect it is worthy to stand alongside of the opposition to the monarchy of the 17th century and other great assertions of human rights.

The result has been that in the 1939-45 war 67,000 registered as COs and the Tribunals accepted the principle that the depth of a man's conscientious objection was the criterion by which he must be judged, not the grounds on which the objection was based.

It is recognised now that the final judgement on participation in war is the business of the individual, not of the State. What remains to be done now is to persuade as many as possible to exercise that judgement against participation. That is the only way in which war can be abolished, but in the meantime pressure must be brought to bear unceasingly on the Government to put an end to conscription, especially in peace time. For that purpose this book is a heartening lesson in what can be done by a small body of resolute men to arouse public opinion and to force the hand of Government.

Publications received

HIS ELECTION FORECAST

A History of the Next Hundred Years—Unless, by Hamilton Fyfe. Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.

THE author is not really successful in his pretence that this is a brief account of the last hundred years written by a historian of 2050, but probably that does not greatly detract from the value of his little book. He has spent sixty years in Fleet Street and his speculations as to the probable course of events deserve attention in whatever form he may clothe them.

That last word in the title is cryptic. He does not say unless what, but presumably means unless something energetic is done to deflect present tendencies. These, he thinks, point to the collapse of central governments on the European continent, and the disintegration of "France," "Italy" and "Germany" into the various states and regions which have failed to unite into nations. For Britain, America and Russia the outlook is much more grim—dictatorship by planners.

He prophesies on the two great uncertainties of the day. The Conservatives will win the election but their attempts to denationalise industry will cause such confusion that they will resign power to a non-party government. There will be no third world war because the dread of atom warfare will become so acute that governments will scarcely dare to admit even its possibility; the atom bomb will be the surest guarantee of peace the world has yet known.

FROM Britain and the Continent of Europe, there come to Peace News office many little magazines. They are valuable evidence of the desire to find a way of peace and to bestride the barriers of nation and language.

Two received recently which are above the average are the monthly review of *Unité des Peuples* (10, rue St. Victor Genève, Switzerland) an organisation aiming at better understanding and identity of end and means between all peoples, and *Manuskripte* issued by the Comradeship of Peace (Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Arnfried Saddai, Wuppertal-Elberfeld, Weissenburgstrasse 27, Germany) a truly ambitious effort.

T.R.D.

VERA BRITAIN on the World Pacifist Conference

JUST back from nine weeks in India and Pakistan, Vera Britain now contributes her impressions of the Conference. Her travels took her from Delhi in the north to Cape Comorin in the extreme south; from Madras in the east to Bombay in the west. She finished up at Karachi in an endeavour to understand both points of view in the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

THE World Pacifist Conference was a unique experience in mutual encouragement.

To find delegates from totally different countries, cultures, and backgrounds speaking the same spiritual language, and subscribing to almost identical values, gave to each member of national pacifist minorities the supporting sense of a "cloud of witness" which no one present will ever forget.

But still more important, for Western delegates, was the altered perspective on world affairs given to them by their weeks in Asia.

When Pandit Nehru, in the downright speech which closed the Sevagram section of the Conference, stated that the people of Europe, though it had been a battleground, were better off than the people of India, which was undamaged by war, he emphasised the basic fact that impressed every thoughtful delegate.

In cities and towns, and on long dusty train journeys through the innumerable railway stations which in India are centres of social activity, the foreign visitors repeatedly saw the poverty, overcrowding and undernourishment which is the fate of tens of millions. In the 700,000 Indian villages, to which Gandhi was the first to direct world attention, only the barest beginning has been made in meeting Asia's primary needs of food, pure water, cleanliness, and elementary sanitation.

It is in this light that the threat to peace of Communism, which the West sees as a head-on clash between the Soviet Union and the United States armed with the hydrogen bomb, must be newly understood.

In this light also the menacing Indo-Pakistan dispute appears not as a local squabble between recalcitrant neighbours with whom the West is hardly concerned, but as the potential source of a third world war. If the cold and bitter conflict between India and Pakistan suddenly bursts into flame, the only country liable to benefit is Russia.

While official delegates ostentatiously walk out at UNO conferences, the seeds of war flourish grimly amid the poverty, starvation, insecurity and fear of a half-forgotten continent.

IF I were asked what work immediately arises for British pacifists from the deliberations of the Conference, I should begin by enumerating six different categories.

First, because most urgent, they should make a comparative study of outstanding centres of possible world conflict, with a view to discovering what practical measures of reconciliation can be taken by pacifists and other interested groups. In such a study, the Indo-Pakistan struggle over Kashmir should be given its due place as a concern especially affecting the Commonwealth, and one in which opportunities of reconciliation ought to be immediately explored, owing to the rapid deterioration of mutual relationships.

Second should come the development of trained "peace armies" (known to India as "Satyagrahi Units"), to exercise themselves by continual service to the community in peace-time, and to prepare for war, should it come, by special non-violent techniques. Such groups, to which Pacifist Service Units and the IVSP might well contribute their quota, should be as ready to make the final sacrifice as any military regiment.

Thirdly, I would suggest a study of the world-wide character of racial discrimination, and of the extent to which non-violent resistance against it should form part of the immediate work of "peace armies." Michael Scott, one of the few delegates to join me in visiting Pakistan as well as India, has some constructive suggestions to make in this field.

Fourthly, I believe that the world pacifist movement should develop a considered and consistent policy in relation to Communist peace propaganda. A valuable paper on the possibilities and limitations of co-operation between pacifists and Communists was read by A. J. Muste, of USA, and will be available when the Conference documents are distributed. In a personal letter he also suggests that national conferences might usefully be held between writers and other artists who are pacifists, in order to consider how best to embody in their work the fundamentals of pacifist faith (as distinct from practical "peace propaganda").

In the fifth place, I think that Western pacifists should examine how far Gandhi's Basic Education policy, to which the Conference gave two whole days at Santini-

ketan, is applicable to countries other than India. Some delegates, in their enthusiasm for Gandhian values and doctrines, seemed to me to over-emphasise the feasibility of applying his "Constructive Programme" in such highly industrialised countries as the United States. Even in India, and not least in its official circles, there has unquestionably been a pacifist recession since Gandhi's death. Hence arises the significant reflection that pacifism appears to succeed best when it is identified with some vital and constructive national need, such as Indian independence, and the defence of their spiritual and social integrity by the Norwegians against the Nazis.

Finally, and most fundamentally, I should like to see British pacifists—so often good but somewhat circumscribed Christians—attempt to understand other peoples in terms of the teaching of the great world religions, and to work out for ultimate educational purposes a synthesis of the values which in each major faith contribute to social and political peace. The Christmas morning service at Sevagram, in which the Christian, Hindu, Moslem, and Buddhist Scriptures all found their place, gave a small example of the manner in which such teaching might be initiated.

HAVE I any criticisms to offer of the Conference? Yes, there are some, though they relate mainly to matters of detail which should not receive disproportionate attention.

Comment has, I understand, already been made on the overloading of the agenda, which obliged most delegates to live in a perpetual rush, and reduced those who had to work hardest to a state of fatigue in which the best work is not done nor the wisest judgments exercised. The penultimate session at Sevagram was permitted to continue until nearly 2 a.m. in order to "receive" recommendations of which quite half might well have been discarded.

Overloaded agenda, however, are characteristic of all conferences, though a more devotional and contemplative spirit might perhaps have been expected from this one. Here I do not think that the fault lay with the Indians, though they may have been responsible for the over-large number of public speeches and attendance at receptions expected from delegates, and especially from the few whose names were already known to the Indian public.

These heavy programmes obliged many travellers to forego explorations and experiences which would ultimately have been more valuable not only to them but to their Indian hosts. From this standpoint the less-known delegates were the more fortunate; they were left with at least some initiative in the allocation of their time.

Such eager demands were nevertheless merely the reverse side to the golden medal of Indian hospitality, so kind and so generous that one can only pity the occupying British who for nearly two centuries deprived themselves of its warmth.

A more important criticism attaches, I think, to the failure of the Conference organisers to give their guests a balanced picture of Indian civilisation.

It is true that social work plays and must continue to play in India a vital part which those who know only the West can barely visualise, and it was largely Gandhi's achievements that we were there to study. None the less I believe that he himself, a reader of Ruskin and Tolstoy, would have been the first to insist that a great civilisation does not consist exclusively of village communities, rural industries, and refugee centres.

Except at Santiniketan, with its great cultural tradition still centred in the Tagore family, there was a depressing sameness about the schedules presented to visiting delegates all over India. Those who desired to learn something of Indian literature, art, architecture and journalism had to struggle quite hard for the opportunity. In most of the cities I visited, I asked for the names of useful books on modern Indian literature, but not until I reached Trivandrum (the enlightened capital of lovely Travancore), and Bombay (the headquarters of the Indian PEN), did I receive satisfactory answers.

But these things said, I can only repeat that to dwell on such details is to ignore the forest for the trees.

What really matters is that every delegate to the World Pacifist Conference will henceforth see the history of our time in a totally different perspective, and will look through a series of new windows upon the needs and problems of the human family.



(C. D. Batchelor, New York Daily News)

"Come on in, I'll treat you right. I used to know your Daddy."

Geoffrey Pittock-Buss reviews
Emrys Hughes' new book —

WINSTON CHURCHILL IN WAR AND PEACE

"Churchill out—language fails us just when it is most needed. We have all been yearning for this to happen; with a yearning beyond utterance. Figures—oh yes, there are figures, but who cares for figures today? Churchill is out, out, OUT."

THUS crowed the Daily Telegraph when the young Radical, Winston Churchill was ejected from his N-W Manchester seat before World War I.

The rise of this amazing politician is outlined sketchily, but entertainingly in "Winston Churchill in War and Peace" (Unity Publishing Co., Ltd., 2s. 6d.) by Emrys Hughes, until Feb. 3, Labour M.P. for South Ayrshire.

His lengthy quotations from Churchill's speeches over the past 45 years make this book a useful document. Rarely indeed, can it be suggested that statements are taken out of their context, for if anything, the author has been too generous in his excerpts and readers will be forgiven if they do a little judicious "skipping."

What sort of man emerges from the examination? A St. George in the first uniform to come handy; a St. George who—one feels has been slaying dragons not to aid distressed Virtue, but to feed an inner compulsion which seems to be of the Boys' Own Paper level.

Right from the time he left Sandhurst, Winston's savour for blood showed itself. He went to Cuba, where a civil war was smoldering; then to the North-West frontier of India, and after that to South Africa. The Boer War turned his thoughts to politics and before long he was unsuccessfully contesting Oldham as a Tory.

In the first World War, Churchill again showed that military escapades were his real forte. Defending brave little Belgium; he fought over with an untrained force as First Lord of the Admiralty, and when there, he could be relieved of his Naval post so that he could become a Commander on the spot. This plea failing, he returned to England to cook up the ghastly Dardanelles plan which led to his political eclipse.

So it was no wonder that 1939 found him again spoiling for the fight, and, as Emrys Hughes chronicles, we are today trying to cope with the problems created by his advocacy of "unconditional surrender."

Of Churchill's views on the European dictators and the Communist "bosses," much is already known. Mussolini he praised

fulsomely; Hitler he credited with undoubted ability. This, presumably, came easily to the Free Trader who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, cut right across his earlier, loudly-proclaimed policy.

How does it arise that a man can treat truth with such contempt? Presumably because he subordinates everything, principles included, to what he conceives to be the need of the moment. In this way he has a strange affinity with the "bloody baboons" of Communism.

In the light of experience, it is strange to look back on that young orator who proclaimed shortly after the Boer War that military expenditure would not bring with it security.

"From the highest sentimental reasons," declared the young Churchill, "not less than from the most ordinary practical consideration, we must avoid a servile imitation of the clanking military empires of the European continent, by which we can never obtain the military predominance and security which is desired, but may only impair and vitiate the natural sources of our strength and vigour."

'Only total pacifism is effective against war'

—APF CHAIRMAN

"It seems to me to be more and more clear that there is no effective protest against war except that of total pacifism," says the chairman of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Archdeacon Hartill in a New Year message to members.

"The practical question is therefore what can we do to spread our own convictions among our fellow churchmen? Meetings have a place; and those of us who have recently spoken for the pacifist cause know that we have been listened to with sympathy and interest which has been lacking for a good many years past. But it still remains true that it is the influence of individuals upon one another which is the main instrument for spreading any cause."

"I would like to appeal to every member of the APF to try to win one new member during 1950. That is surely not a task beyond our powers. We are all satisfied that our case is unanswerable. It is only for us to prove ourselves worthy of our cause."

The membership of the APF has been steadily increasing in recent years. New members in 1949 included The Rev. Michael Scott of South Africa.

JAPAN JOURNEY—13

A Garden in Hiroshima

SOME of the group spent last week building a garden. It was lots of fun. We had a small triangular plot at the entrance to our housing project and all summer we have been thinking of a garden there.

One day a sixth grade class from a nearby primary school came with their teachers to "interview" us. They wanted to make some sort of a school project out of the visit. They had their questions all written out and some of them amazed us. They were not written by the teachers because the children asked them, and explained their meaning, in such a way it was obvious that they knew what they were talking about.

After that visit, three very bright boys about 12 years old came every evening after school to work with us. We gave them to Pinky and they started carrying soil for our garden. Later their teacher came to help us and one of their mothers came also. So whenever we had more help than we could use on the houses we turned them loose carrying soil for the garden.

City Council finds the wheelbarrow

But carrying soil in baskets, although the Japanese build dykes, tunnels and railway embankments that way, was too slow for us; so one noon hour we designed and built a wheelbarrow. They don't use such things in Japan—apparently that is one Chinese invention the Japanese did not borrow—so it was a great curiosity. It was a pretty good wheelbarrow, even if I did design it, so good that one day it disappeared.

A delegation of the City Council was out soon after looking things over and I laughingly told them about our wheelbarrow. They took the matter very seriously, in spite of my protests, and pretty soon police swarmed over the place. Our wheelbarrow was back within an hour.

By last week we had quite a mountain of soil on our triangular plot so we got busy on the garden. I had admired the garden at the plant of the Hiroshima Publishing Company so they sent their gardener out to help us.

Mr. Ishigawa is an expert of the old school so our garden is authentic. Overnight he had a blueprint and we began digging the pool and rearranging our pile of soil to fit his contour lines.

On Wednesday we sent out a call for husky volunteers and got, as Watanabe put it, "six males." We then borrowed a heavy hand cart and began scouring the destroyed gardens and rubble piles of the area for big stones. By evening we had quite a pile of stones.

Thursday we got a stone cutter and started a hunt for a stone lantern to stand by the pool. The city offered us one which had turned up in the middle of a new street they were building and it was a beauty. But it was too big. Soon we found what we wanted in a private garden and the city offered to buy it for us.

At the Nagaregawa church we found two beautiful big slabs of white granite for our stone bench. Mrs. Tanimoto called the

AS a gesture of international friendship, a party of Americans led by Professor Floyd Schmoe of the American Folk, is visiting Japan on a project to help build houses for some of the innocent victims of the war. The cost is contributed by interested Americans and the scheme is under the care of the Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends.

construction company that is rebuilding the church and they offered to give them to us and sent a truck and four men to haul them for us.

So our garden will have trees and rocks, a stone lantern by a reflection pool, and a bench to sit on. The bench is for meditation but on moonlit nights it may very well serve other useful purposes.

(To be continued)

UP AND DOING

BEHIND all the comparatively minor issues over which the General Election is being fought lies the great unanswered challenge of the times: Peace or War.

Pacifism is almost entirely without democratic representation, and pacifists must perforce do all they can to stir the conscience of every candidate.

Peace News is at hand to help and strengthen your efforts.

Snip out appropriate portions and send them to your candidates, asking what they propose to do about the issue raised. Quote the information given in PN at election meetings; get a dozen extra copies (at half price) of this number and see that all the local key people have a last-minute reminder of their top priority job, to abolish war and build a peaceful world.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 9,500

NEW GROUP TO LINK UP SMALLHOLDERS AND CRAFTSMEN

AN attempt to link up all pacifist smallholders, craftsmen and small community groups is to be made by the Peace Pledge Union's new Social Order Group formed at the Steps to Peace Conference last November.

At the Group's first meeting, held in London on Feb. 4, and attended by members from the provinces, plans were also discussed for a Conference to be held in co-operation with the Surrey Area of the PPU on Saturday afternoon and Sunday, June 3-4.

The conference will meet at The Priory, Leatherhead. There will be ample time for discussion and the reading of short papers. Full details will be sent on application to the Secretary, Simonette Bond, Marycot, Theltham, Diss, Norfolk.

Notes for your Diary

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

F.A.U. INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

STEEP, PETERSFIELD, HANTS. OFFERS young religious and humanitarian pacifists constructive service with small international membership, undertaking agricultural, reconstructional and other manual work in England and abroad.

as this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and Secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, February 17

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Bull Street Meeting House; Speaker: the Rev. John Nevins Sayre (USA), Chairman of IFOR; "World Pacifist Conference"; FoR.

CHICHESTER: 7 p.m. Oriel Lodge, West Street; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; "The New World of Peace"; FoR.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Townhead, 12 Glasgow Road; Speaker: Guy A. Aldred, Pacifist Election Candidate; Public Meeting.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsley Gardens; Oswald Blakeston "Reading from my Works"; Central London PPU.

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NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 1: 7 p.m. Connaught Hall, Blackett Street; All-Party meeting on International Affairs; 7.30 Fred Barton, ILP Anti-war candidate; Public Meeting.

Saturday, February 18

OXFORD: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, St. Giles; Speaker: the Rev. John Nevins Sayre (USA), Chairman of IFOR; "World Pacifist Conference"; FoR.

WOOLWICH: 3.30 p.m. 19 Anglesea Road (Woolwich Arsenal Stn.); Poster Parade in support of Frank Hancock, No-More-War candidate; Candidate's Campaign Committee.

Sat., Feb. 18—Wed., Feb. 22

SOUTH AYRSHIRE: Stuart Morris at meetings in support of the candidature of Emrys Hughes.

Sunday, February 19

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. Rev. Patrick Figgis; pre-election sermon "Our Response as a Nation, as a Church, as Individuals, to the Challenge of the Hydrogen Bomb." NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Friars Lane; Dorothy Hogg on "Japan, her role in the new Asia"; Society of Friends.

Monday, February 20

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. City Pity Public Secondary School, St. James Road; Guy A. Aldred, ILP Anti-war candidate; Public Meeting.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. Weigh House Church, Binney Street (near Bond Street tube); London Branch Meeting; All welcome; No Subscription Council.

WOOLWICH: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Sybil Morrison in support of Frank Hancock, PPU Anti-war candidate; Public Meeting.

Tuesday, February 21

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Golfhill, Circus Drive; Guy A. Aldred, ILP Anti-war candidate; Public Meeting.

NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. Royal Jubilee Primary School and Bolam Primary School; Fred Barton, ILP Anti-war candidate; Public Meeting.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Lattimore Road; Branch Annual General Meeting; FoR.

WANSTEAD, E.11: 7.45 p.m. "The Christian Alternative to Power Politics"; Speaker: Dr. A. D. Belden; Chairman: Rev. Leonard E. White; Friends and FoR.

Wednesday, February 22

NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. Westmorland Road and Ouseburn Primary Schools; Fred Barton, ILP Anti-war candidate; Public Meeting.

Thursday, February 23

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, February 24

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7.30 p.m. Harringtons Cafe, Five Ways; Eric Tucker (Friends Peace Committee) on "Christian Pacifism in World Affairs"; FoR.

Saturday, February 25

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. 26 Gledhow Valley Road; Whist drive; ability to play not important; All welcome; 1s. 6d.; Proceeds to PPU.

Sunday, February 26

LONDON, S.W.1: 3-4 p.m. St. Ermina, Caxton Street; Meeting in honour of the memory of H. Runham Brown. WRI.

Monday, February 27

HEADINGLEY: 7.30 p.m. 59 The Turnways; "Steps to Peace"—Politics; Headingley PPU.

Tuesday, February 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. Conway Hall; Stuart Morris on "Is Pacifism Possible?"; Conway Discussion Circle.

WALLESEY: 7.45 p.m. 24 Fern Hill; Speaker: Clifford Macquiere, General Secretary FoR; FoR and Wallesey Peace Group.

Wednesday, March 1

STOCKPORT: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Hilgate, Stockport; Business Meeting; No Subscription Council.

Saturday, March 4

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsley Street; Meeting of Non-Violence Group; Refreshment provided; All PPU members welcome; Secretary: Ethel Lewis, The Manse, Brill, Aylesbury, Bucks; PPU.

Saturday and Sunday, March 4 and 5

SOUTHPORT: Commencing Saturday 5 p.m.; Orleans Christian Guest House, Lathorn Road; Weekend School; Leader: Rev. Alun Williams, B.A.; Subject: Education for Peace; Inclusive charge 15s. each; Apply at once to Llewelyn Lloyd, 25 Derwent Avenue, Prescott, Lancs.; North West Area PPU.

Sunday, March 5

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsley Street; Area AGM; Nomination of Officers; PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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PEACE NEWS urgently requires full time assistant in general office. Junior preferred, but other applicants invited. Shorthand typing an advantage. Please send particulars to the Manager, Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

OAKLEY WOOD School, Newton St. Cyres, Devon. Teacher required, twelve pupils in group. For further particulars, apply. Tony Warner.

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MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International web comes gifts of foreign stamps and damaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

NEW GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE

—Dr. Barnes

THE end of conscription, refusal to make or use atomic weapons, and large scale reduction in armament expenditure should be the three main aims of a new Government, said the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. E. W. Barnes) last Saturday.

The creation of a government pledged to peace and ready to take great risks to preserve it is of primary importance today, he added.

Let freedom go

Freedom was not worth preserving at the price of destruction of whole cities and populations. Loss of freedom, if it happened, would not be permanent, with communications, physical and mental, growing so fast that some kind of international union of mankind was certain.

Dr. Barnes was speaking at the institution of the new vicar of St. Jude's Church, Birmingham, the Rev. W. E. Brooke, reports the Sunday Mercury.

TOM ABBOTT

NOTTINGHAM pacifists heard with sorrow which will be shared by members of the peace movement throughout the East Midlands of the death on Sunday of Thomas Abbott, of 2 Loscoe Mount Road, Sherwood, Nottingham. He was in his early sixties.

Trevor Wadsworth writes: All who had the privilege of being associated in however small a way with the work that Tom Abbott had performed so long and untiringly in the cause of peace and reconciliation in his native city and county will know how great is the void created by his death.

Launched COs work scheme

Since the days when he was himself a CO in World War I no effort had been too much for him to strengthen in spirit and helping in practical ways those whose conscience led them to resist war. A founder-member of the PPU in Nottingham, he had been a tower of strength ever since.

To countless CO's he was guide, counsellor and friend during World War II, and many had his help in their stand at the tribunals and later, in finding jobs in days when hostility to pacifists was rife. It was Tom Abbott who, in conjunction with the Rev. S. Crawford, launched a scheme which was instrumental in finding many CO's work with the Forestry Commission at Loughton, near Gainsborough, and in other units.

Unsparring work for Pacifism

Nor was he any less sparing in his activities for the CBCO, on whose London executive he served, and later with a leading part in Nottingham's "Save Europe Now" campaigns. All this in addition to his business as a yarn agent, which took him frequently away from the city.

Tom Abbott was brought up a Methodist, but of late years had been an "attender" at the Friends' Meeting House; it was typical of him that when asked why he didn't become a member, he once replied: "I'm not good enough..." His friends knew better.

For long troubled by illness he made light of his complaint. He leaves a widow and two daughters.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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Election Letters to the Editor

Liberal viewpoint

WE are fortunate in this constituency to have as our Liberal candidate Mr. L. Evans, a Quaker and active pacifist. But even on the wider front our vigorous demand for World Government, for the abolition of conscription, for Free Trade, our fight for Human Rights, for more help for refugees and DP's puts us in the forefront of those who genuinely desire peace and happiness for all men, irrespective of race, nationality, colour or creed.

It is part of the agreed policy of the Liberal Party that "while observing due prudence, military preparedness, though it may for a time preserve peace, cannot create peace, and therefore we put our trust in a policy of reconciliation, justice, human sympathy and the principle of the Good Neighbour."

The Liberal Party can at least claim an honourable place among the genuine fighters for peace and friendship amongst the nations—it is more than a political party, it is a religious faith whose return into British politics could become a powerful factor for the moral and spiritual good of this nation and the world.

K. H. FARNHAM

"Ivydene,"
Little Houghton, Northampton.

The Liberal Record

IT is time we ceased to take it for granted that all pacifists are, or should be, attached to some brand of Socialism. It is time we awakened to the dangers which are inherent in the Socialist State, where the individual inevitably counts for less and less and the state becomes more and more all-embracing.

It is not a coincidence that it was the Liberals who were most feared and most bitterly persecuted by the dictators in Europe; neither is it a coincidence that the political refugees who have been arriving in this country since 1945 have turned to the Liberal Party here, not to the Socialists.

Socialism is a way of achieving by democratic means what the Communists would institute by force. To reach this goal it seems that the British Labour Party is quite willing to sacrifice freedom and individual liberty. It is amazing how little protest was forthcoming from the Labour members in the House when the Government decided to continue the direction of labour and military conscription!

Finally, it was evident from a recent issue of Peace News that the idea of a world government was supported by more Liberal candidates than by those of the other parties.

LIONEL G. AYLIFF

Langham Oaks School,
Nr. Colchester, Essex.

Obvious solution

IT now seems obvious that the solution for the pacifist is to vote Liberal at the coming election. The Liberal Party is opposed to conscription, and concerned with the principles of true freedom.

The eclipse of the Party during the last thirty years or so may be responsible in some measure for the calamities that have overtaken England, Europe, and the world. Certainly free trade between the nations would have done much to establish an atmosphere of good will, and consequently peace.

I should like to commend to readers of Peace News Sir Gilbert Murray's article, The Meaning of Liberalism, in the current World Review.

DALLAS KENMARE

Lynhurst Hill,
Barnt Green, Worcs.

Stay at home

REVEREND W. MARTIN ANDREW reflects my own views. My chief complaint is, the mud-throwing of candidates, and especially those in high places. Also the attitude of the Government to conscription, and the way tribunals are dealing with young men of conscience.

I also am against the atom bomb, and cannot think of America other than a nation of polished barbarism.

I shall not vote.

MALCOLM M. NIVEN

4 College Square,
Llanelly, Carmar.

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Spoil your vote

SINCE it is the citizen's duty, as well as his right to register his political views in an election, it seems to me imperative that all who feel they cannot conscientiously vote for any of the existing parties, should bear public witness to their opinion, going to their polling station and handing in a voting paper, purposely defaced by either a written protest or absence of any mark.

R. D. GASCOIGNE

41 Eccleston Square,
London, S.W.1.

A painful duty

OUR crying need today is to find a means of settling international disputes and enforcing the settlement. This requires an international authority which can make decisions and enforce them without war (which UNO cannot do). The only way to enforce decisions without war is to enforce them directly upon the individual citizen by due process of law. (To coerce communities or governments causes war.)

It is sometimes a painful duty to abstain from voting. But I and my friends in the World Movement for World Federal Government are determined not to support any candidate who does not specifically pledge himself to work for the convening this year of a Constituent Assembly to draft a workable constitution to replace the woefully inadequate UN Charter.

HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

London, E.C.3.

Why vote Labour?

ACCORDING to Audrey Jupp, pacifists should vote Labour, although that party has been the first to introduce conscription in peace time.

Likewise, complete disarmament is a vital plank in the pacifist platform, and although the Communist Party of the USSR is the only party, when in power, to have ever proposed this very thing, yet we should not vote for a Communist.

DON L. PHILLIPS

"Pensilva,"
69, Audley Avenue, Torquay.

Is Bevin's way practical?

IS Bevin's way practical now in face of the newer weapons? Or is it the road to disaster? This is not a moral issue only, but practical politics.

We must admit, that broadly speaking, the "home" policy of the Labour Party is better than that of the Tories. But no one who recognises the danger of the international situation can pay very much attention to national policy if war threatens to destroy it all.

Foreign policy is the important issue today, and who can say that Bevin has a policy any different from that of Churchill. My standards of morality would not allow me to vote for the policies he advocates. It is a policy so evil and impractical that it could not get my support as a pacifist.

JACK SUTHERLAND

152 Camberwell Road,
S.E.5.

Losing a golden opportunity

THAT Labour Pacifists should remain in the Labour Party is a matter for their own conscience, and is no doubt sound from some viewpoints; but if our minority is to fear voting for its own Pacifist candidates because of a possible loss of one or two non-Pacifist Labour seats to Tories, then I fear we are losing a golden opportunity of advancing our cause, which, after all, ought to be the chief concern of all pacifists who really believe in their faith.

ERIC W. DURKIN

Chislehurst, Kent.

Must pacifists be Left?

C. R. M. Oehlke says: "The frequent linking of pacifism with Left-wing politics is no help to the PPU and only weakens and divides an already small body."

This is true in my own experience. I know of people who are near-pacifists but who steer clear of the PPU because of the implication that you must be politically Left in order to be a pacifist.

Having been a member of the Methodist Church for a good many years, I feel convinced that the most fruitful field for pacifist recruitment is the Church, but we shall never win people while we continue to sneer at anyone with Right-wing political views.

ELLEN HANDS

16, Venetia Road, N.4.

PN WANTED IN JAPAN

WE have received an appeal from peace workers in Japan for Peace News to be sent to regularly to the Mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and to a friendly news agency.

Many other free copies are already being sent abroad each week to overseas pacifists unable to send subscriptions. Readers who would care to help with this work are invited to "adopt" our friends abroad by donating their subscriptions. 16s. 6d. pays for a year's supply. We shall advise you for whom your gift is being used, and can assure you that it will be very gratefully welcomed.

Please send to the Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London N. 4.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Mr. Acheson... outlined the uselessness of agreements with Russia unless based on the strength of those negotiating with the Soviet Union.

—Daily Telegraph, Feb. 10, 1950

For we have gone too far, oh much too far
Towards the darkness and the shadow of death;

Let us turn back, lest we should all be lost
Let us go back now though we give up all
The treasure and the vain we ever had
Let us go back, the only way is love.

—D. H. Lawrence, Letters.

IN an account of a conscientious objectors' tribunal published recently in the New Statesman, a question to an applicant on how he would oppose an invader received the answer: "By love."

"What's the use of love with a Panzer division coming down the street?" said "X," the examiner.

"X" probably was quite sincere and in fact visualise the whole matter in the narrow terms. He would no doubt also say, "What's the use of love against the atom bomb?" And he would believe the question to be unanswerable.

But he would be wrong. Tolerance and understanding, imagination and goodwill, these are all ingredients of that much misused word love, and, it is precisely that way of approach that is required, for it is the only protection and the only defence against invasion or the high explosive bomb.

There are always two sides to any question and the reasons for Panzer divisions coming along the streets of an enemy occupied country are never discussed at tribunals and seldom faced by the public at all.

Here they come, these armoured divisions here are the bombs and "doodle-bugs" and the rockets, launched out of sheer aggressiveness and determination to dominate the world! So we are told, and so the majority believe, causes are not sought nor considered, and the whole truth is seldom heard.

As seen from Russia

It takes very little stretch of imagination to see that in Russia today the discovery and production of the Atom and hydrogen bombs by the Western powers is interpreted and believed to be aggressive and dominating. Each side believes the worst of the other.

It is a futile absurdity to maintain that because Russia will not agree to terms of control and inspection put forward by the Western powers, there is no other basis for agreement. That is to say, in effect, that unless the agreement is on our terms there can be no agreement, and the only final arbiter is to be the H-bomb.

Yet all thinking people must know that nothing will be decided by a catastrophic clash between East and West; a clash of words which both sides are rushing towards neither side really wants. We must turn back before it is too late; we must make a new approach before the opportunity slips away never to be retrieved; we must make concessions while there is still time.

The only way is, in fact, the way of tolerance and good will, humility and sacrifice, and the way of love. It is the right answer and the only answer, and it cannot be proved that it would not work for it has not been tried. There can be no doubt that the time is ripe for pacifist work and pacifist faith to be accepted and understood as never before. Let us grasp the challenge and go forward with renewed strength and courage.

If you intend to register as a CO

write for help and advice to the

Central Board for CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
6 Endsleigh Street - London, W.C.1

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Wigmore Street, W.1.

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